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ROUND TABLE

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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

HOW TO FIGHT NAZI PROPAGANDA

MAYNARD KRUEGER
CLYDE MILLER
W. LLOYD WARNER

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

HOW TO FIGHT NAZI PROPAGANDA

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

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* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, March 2, 1941, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

HOW TO FIGHT NAZI PROPAGANDA

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MR. WARNER: We've just received a letter by special delivery addressed to the ROUND TABLE of the University of Chicago. This letter came from someone in the state of Missouri who is a member of one of the Missouri chapters of the Sons of the American Revolution. I can't read all of this letter to you, unfortunately, because part of it might be slanderous, but I shall read those sections of it which we can read over the air:

Round Table,
University of Chicago.

I see the announced topic for discussion is "How to Fight Nazi Propaganda." Is the Round Table becoming pro-British, too? Are you trying to smear everybody that is not a British-American Tory with a pro-British label? Don't you realize that a pro-British propaganda compares with Nazi propaganda at a ratio of a thousand to one? Let us learn how to fight British propaganda!

Krueger, what do you think of that?

MR. KRUEGER: I think the problem of fighting British propaganda *is* a problem; it is a short-run problem concerned with American foreign policy right now. I think, nevertheless, that the long-run problem of the growth of Nazi propaganda is a very serious one and that we on the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, regardless of who criticizes us, ought to be able to seriously discuss the question of Nazi propaganda.

MR. MILLER: I happen to be a Son of the American Revolution myself. I think this man has a point, but it's not the main point. The menace today (as it has been for some years) is Nazi propaganda, plus what is back of it.

MR. KRUEGER: And the fact that we are discussing the problem of Nazi propaganda does not mean either that we are simply whipping up mob hysteria for everybody to get out in the English Channel and fight Nazi propaganda with bayonets. I think it is a problem that should be tackled otherwise.

MR. WARNER: Are you opposed to the "lease-lend" bill?

MR. MILLER: Oh, I certainly am!

MR. WARNER: Do you mean that both of you are opposed to the lease-lend bill? Thank goodness there is one person on this ROUND TABLE who is in favor of it. I am decidedly in favor of it.[1]

MR. KRUEGER: Nevertheless, our problem concerns Nazi propaganda in the United States. There will be other opportunities for a discussion of the shorter-run problem of British propaganda. Who in this country needs to worry about the problem of Nazi propaganda? Aren't we all anti-Nazi?

MR. WARNER: We are all good Americans.

MR. MILLER: We *think* we are all good Americans, but there are a number of people among us who ought to worry.

MR. WARNER: Suppose I were a listener to this broadcast. Who would I have to be, to be worried about this Nazi propaganda?

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[1] *H.R. 1776—giving the President power to dispose of "defense articles"—passed the House of Representatives in February and is now under discussion in the Senate. Administration leaders have stated they anticipate action on it by the middle of March.*

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MR. MILLER: Suppose you haven't a job and can't get a job; or suppose that you have trained to be a professional man. You have to take some little fill-in job at twelve or thirteen dollars a week. You are discontented; you are frustrated; you think things aren't as good as they should be—and, frankly, they are not. That's the type of person to whom Hitler appeals.

MR. KRUEGER: Or suppose you are a businessman; you may be a big businessman who has a very difficult labor problem to deal with; or you may be a small businessman, with a store on the corner, who is in a competitive situation which keeps him on the edge of the "red" all the time. Anybody in that position is fair game for propaganda.

MR. WARNER: I think both of you make sense. I can think of another fellow who ought to be watching out (if I were a listener of his kind I would be distressed); namely, the young man who can't get a job at the present time. There are literally hundreds of thousands of young men in this country who can't get jobs. They are fair game for Nazi propaganda just as they were in Germany at the beginning of the Hitler campaign there. Do you agree?

MR. MILLER: Certainly! And suppose there may be listeners to this broadcast who haven't been able to pay a poll tax to cast a vote in years, and yet they may be asked to fight for democracy and they don't like to do that. Hitler will make an appeal to them.[2]

MR. KRUEGER: My guess is that there are at least a half-million unemployed people listening to us right now, and certainly tens of thousands of people who are prohibited from voting by the continuation of the poll tax system. We probably have several hundred thousand farmers, who are facing very difficult price problems and perhaps even the loss of their farms, listening to us. (*See illus-*

[2] *See illustration, page 14.*

tration, page 7.) People in that position are meat for the kind of propaganda we are discussing.

MR. WARNER: I agree completely. Furthermore, if I were a Negro listening to this broadcast I'd be asking myself, "What have I in this American democracy which would be taken away from me simply because Naziism might come in?" I think I would have to worry, too, that I might succumb, if I were a Negro, to Nazi propaganda.

MR. KRUEGER: Whether you were discriminated against at home or whether you were discriminated against in the armed forces of the United States, I think that might very easily be your reaction. I don't mean to imply that Negroes are inclined to be Nazi, and I don't think you do either. . . . .

MR. WARNER: No! To the contrary!

MR. KRUEGER: . . . . but anybody who is in the position of having a grievance is meat for somebody who comes riding on a white horse, in a shining suit of armor, proclaiming he is the answer to that grievance.

MR. MILLER: Suppose you are a laboring man and suppose you are not getting very much money. You are working for a firm that has taken a great defense contract and you think you ought to get some of that "velvet," as they would describe it, and you go on strike. You are called a communist and you are clubbed down by the police. Does that make you a good American?

MR. WARNER: So far we have been talking about the unemployed, the Negro, the tenant farmer, and others—all the people in the so-called lower-income group. As a matter of fact, if I were a doctor or a lawyer and had prepared for seven or eight years to practice, or if I were one of the white-collar men who have spent a

long time preparing for a job and then could not get the job or was paid practically nothing for it, I am quite convinced that I might be the kind of man who would succumb to Nazi propaganda.

MR. KRUEGER: Or you might be a member of the vast white-collar group in the United States that has been accustomed to thinking it was entitled to a better break than manual laborers got and facing a situation where white-collared people have incomes not in keeping with other people's incomes in society. People like that have a grievance, and wherever there is that kind of grievance people are meat for some kind of propaganda.

MR. WARNER: You are not making an accusation, and neither am I. What we are saying is that people like that must be on the watch lest their frustrations be stimulated by the Nazis.

MR. MILLER: After all, this is but an analysis. We are trying to see what groups they can work on here.

MR. WARNER: That's right!

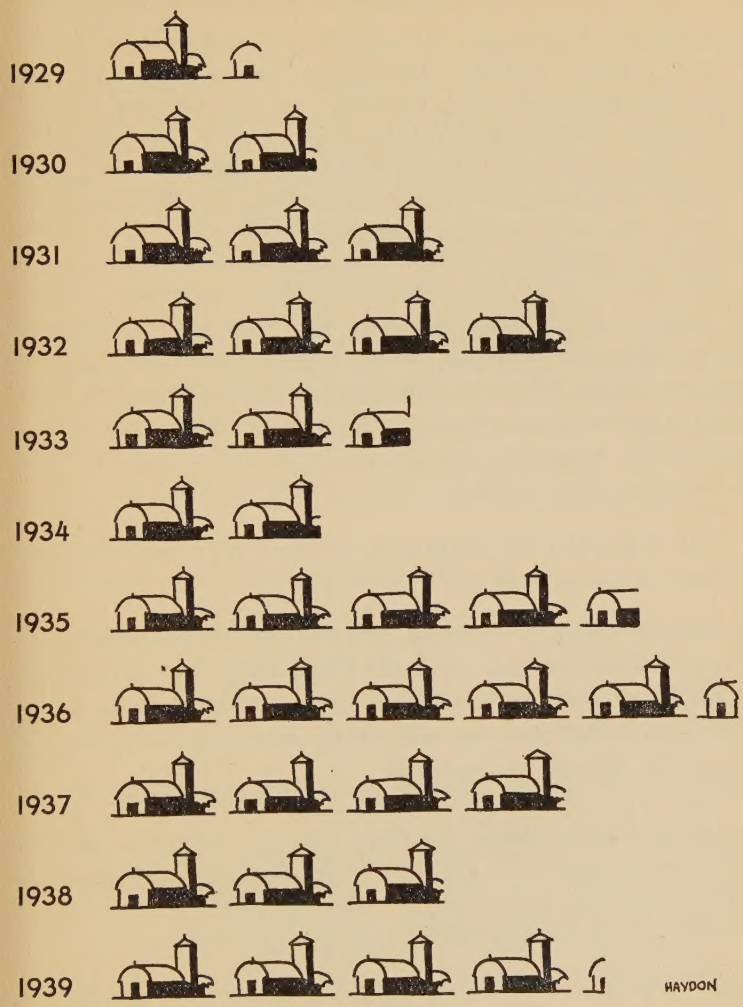
MR. KRUEGER: If we are going to discuss the question we must know how serious the problem is. By the time we add together all these groups we have been mentioning we certainly have a majority of the population in the United States that ought to be concerned.

MR. MILLER: And one very important part of that majority would be the young people—young men and women who want to get married, who look forward to a future of homes and children—frustrated and denied.

MR. KRUEGER: That is the second time you have used the word "frustrated." I take it you are applying the term "frustration" to people who have all kinds of unsatisfied grievances.

If I recall correctly, Hitler doesn't use exactly that term, but he

FARM MORTGAGE FORECLOSURES



EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 2500 FARMS

SOURCE: U.S. FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

comes very near using it and I would like to call upon Hitler's words, if not his voice, as a witness at this point:

> *All my life I have been a "have-not." At home I was a "have-not." I regard myself as belonging to them and have always fought exclusively for them. I defended them and, therefore, I stand before the world as their representative. I shall never recognize the claim of the others to that which they have taken by force. Under no circumstances can I acknowledge this claim with regard to that which has been taken from us.*[3]

MR. WARNER: It is mighty clear that what Hitler is saying is "I, Hitler, am the champion of the oppressed; I, Hitler, represent the unemployed; I represent the low groups in my country; I represent the farmers who haven't received what they wanted; I represent the people who haven't been paid enough. Follow me and you willl get the things you want."

Do you agree with that?

MR. MILLER: He brings unity by canalizing these frustrations toward a common goal.

MR. KRUEGER: That isn't the first time that has been done. It was done in Germany when the Hitler movement was growing, and it has also been tried with some degree of success in the United States. Certainly that was what Huey Long was doing with his "Share-the-Wealth" movement.[4]

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[3] *From Hitler's speech "To the Workers of Germany," delivered December 10, 1940, at the Rheinmetall-Borsig plant in Berlin; the text is taken from the authorized translation as published in "Facts in Review," issued by the German Library of Information.*

[4] *The "Share-the-Wealth" movement led by the late Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana collapsed after the assassination of Senator Long in September, 1935.*

MR. MILLER: It is what the "Ham-and-Egg" people did in California; it is what the Townsend movement represents, isn't it?[5]

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, I think that those movements represent a type of answer (I think a very unsatisfactory one, though not a fascist answer) to frustration. That frustration runs pretty deep, and when people are frustrated it is possible then for the propagandist to take advantage of the fears and the anxieties which they have reason to be worried about.

Again I'd like to present Hitler's words as evidence on this occasion:

> *At the same time, I do not want to forget the directions I gave to the German Reichstag on the first of September, 1939—directions to the effect that when the other world has been delivered from the Jews, Judaism will have ceased to play a part in Europe. They may still laugh today, just as they laughed over my prophecies in the past. The coming months and years will prove that what I foresaw was right.*[6]

All right, Miller! What's Hitler doing there?

MR. MILLER: Well, for one thing he is setting up a scapegoat. He is taking these fears and frustrations, creating fear in his people and showing them who is to blame. He is the champion. He is going after the Jews. He is the Leader. He gets them on the bandwagon.

MR. WARNER: He is doing the same thing that he did in Eng-

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[5] *The "Ham-and-Egg" movement was twice defeated at the polls in California in ballotings on its "Thirty-Dollars-Every-Thursday" plan. The Townsend movement is continuing its activities for a pension plan for aged citizens along lines laid down by its founder.*

[6] *From Hitler's speech "To the German Nation," delivered January 30, 1941, on the eighth anniversary of the Nazi seizure of power, at the Sportspalast in Berlin. The text is taken from the official translation.*

land when he tried to say, "I am the person who is going to protect the English upper classes from communism. I am going to protect Europe from communism. I am the man who is going to remove your fears and anxieties, no matter who you are."

MR. KRUEGER: He is going to protect people against all of the threats which come from abroad; he is going to protect them against all things alien. People do, even in the United States, have the same basic fears that they had in Germany before Hitler came to power.

MR. MILLER: So they look for a savior. Hitler set himself up as a savior. It is very interesting to see how many important people in Germany and England—and yes, here—have regarded Hitler as a savior.

MR. KRUEGER: That was essentially the line of the British Tories about the time of the Munich Pact, wasn't it?

MR. MILLER: That is why they helped build Hitler. He was to save them from communism. Just the other day I read again that statement of the very eminent British-American clergyman, the head of one of the British movements, who said, in effect, in 1936: "I thank Heaven for Adolf Hitler who has saved Europe from the anti-Christ of communism."

MR. WARNER: Isn't that the line of one of our very great industrialists? If I remember correctly, he is a motor manufacturer. Isn't the fear that he is going to lose what he has what's really bothering him? (We don't know exactly what is in his mind but we can see some of his public announcements.)

MR. MILLER: You mean the gentleman who received the Nazi medal from Hitler?

MR. WARNER: I mean that gentleman in the middle part of the United States.

MR. KRUEGER: I don't know what goes on in his mind, and I don't know whether we can say exactly why he does what he does, nor why a professor in a university will accept an honorary degree from a German university these days. . . . .

MR. MILLER: Which they do!

MR. KRUEGER: . . . . but I would suspect that it is because they recognize in the Nazi movement something that will protect them from movements here, or from some kind of a vague future that they think is threatening them. When people of that kind have fears and anxieties, and when they are frustrated in their attempt to achieve what everybody sets as a normal goal, there is a strong tendency for a movement like the Nazi movement to instil a kind of missionary zeal in them.

There is another statement I would like you to hear. Baldur von Schirach[7] is the official head of the German Youth organization. He speaks in a vein that I think we might have something to say about:

> *Adolph Hitler, we believe in Thee. Without Thee we would be alone. Through Thee we are a people. Thou hast given us the great experience of our youth, comradeship. Thou hast laid upon us the task, the duty, and the responsibility. Thou hast given us Thy Name, the most beloved Name that Germany has ever possessed. We speak it with reverence, we bear it with faith and loyalty. Thou canst depend upon us, Adolf Hitler, Leader and Standard-Bearer. The Youth is Thy Name. Thy Name is the Youth. Thou and the young millions can never be sundered.*

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[7] *Baldur von Schirach, Reich youth leader and poet, has been a close associate of Adolf Hitler since 1922. The prayer above is quoted without source in "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism," by Robert A. Brady (New York: The Viking Press, 1937), pp. 196–97.*

MR. WARNER: You would suppose that that was a prayer. You would suppose that this gentleman was a religious leader attempting to lead his people in prayer, and attempting to make their devotions in favor of the Great God Hitler.

MR. MILLER: It *is* a prayer! Hitler has identified himself repeatedly with Christ and with God. His picture is on the altar of the German churches; he dominates the Protestant church in Germany; and, as we heard from the Vatican the other day, he is attempting to dominate the Catholic church. Naturally, it is a prayer, and we get that same tie-up between this religious missionary zeal, identifying the leader with God Himself, in Germany, over here in America. We have movements here in America—religious movements—that are tied to this same fascist movement.

MR. WARNER: Every time I hear a thing like that (and I have heard a number of those things and read some of them in *Mein Kampf*) it sounds very much like the *mumbo jumbo* I used to hear among the Australian tribes. They did exactly the same thing: "*Mumbo jumbo;* god of the Congo." You work people up and get them to follow you simply by the use of words.

MR. MILLER: The point is, it works.

MR. WARNER: The point is, it worked there and it works here.

MR. MILLER: And we don't want *mumbo jumbo*. We want people to see through it.

MR. KRUEGER: There is another aspect of that thing that is worth mentioning. By the propaganda strategy of associating himself with the Deity, as you have just heard it described here, Hitler also gets himself and his whole movement associated with the powerful sweep of history which is going to carry it on and on to ultimate success: conquering Germany today, all of the continent tomorrow,

England later, and so on. I think that notion of having history on his side is also a very important one.

MR. MILLER: Destiny!

MR. WARNER: Didn't we recently have a book, called *The Wave of the Future*, indicating that the wave is going to roll and there is nothing we can do about it?[8] Isn't that the same idea?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, but I could not be quite sure what kind of a wave the future was supposed to hold. But the notion that the future is on his side is a very important part of Hitler's propaganda technique.

MR. MILLER: A very astute part, and that is what you would call in propaganda, if you please, the missionary drive. The Hitler movement, however much we hate it (and I hate it; I've hated it ever since I was in Germany in 1932 and saw its beginning), has succeeded beyond anyone's expectations.

MR. WARNER: What you are saying, then, is that this missionary drive has power over people who have fear and anxiety in them, who have frustration in them, and these people can be organized around this symbol of the man who is the leader, who has destiny on his side.

MR. MILLER: Who will lead them out to the promised land. You can have this drive for good movements as well as for bad movements. You had it in the French Revolution; you had it in Christianity itself. You had it in the American Civil War. Take that stirring *Battle Hymn of the Republic* of Julia Ward Howe's: "As Christ died to make men holy, let us die to make men free!" How that carried the North into that struggle!

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[8] *Written by Mrs. Anne Morrow Lindbergh.*

THE POLL TAX STATES

Where a Price Is Paid for the Right To Vote

MR. WARNER: And also it has the military element in it, too, which connects up so well with Hitler's military plans: "Onward, Christian Soldiers!" It has the same kind of religious faith tied in with the military feeling.

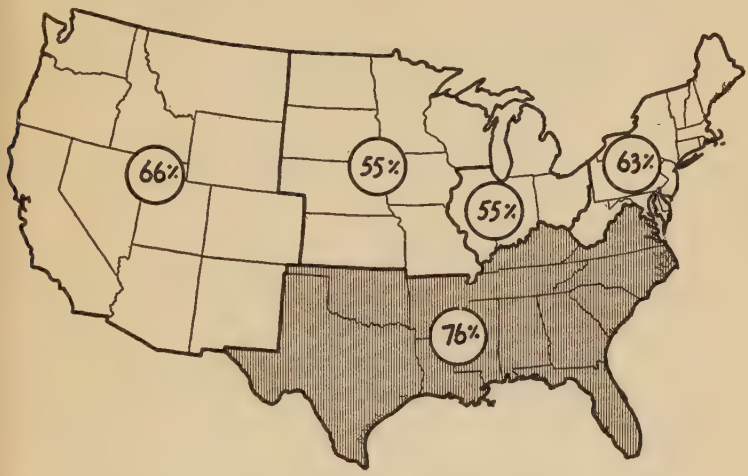
MR. MILLER: Leading into, too, what the analyst would call the bandwagon technique.

MR. WARNER: That's right!

MR. KRUEGER: Now let's see where we stand. We have said that there are many people in this country who have grievances and who are candidates to be influenced by Nazi propaganda. We have showed the way the Nazis use frustration, fear, and anxiety, and build up a powerful movement that has the blessing of God and of history. He stimulates and vocalizes the conflicts that are within

"AID BRITAIN—EVEN AT RISK OF WAR"*

Results of January 10, 1941, Gallup Poll



our people. What, then, to do about it? How are we to fight Nazi propaganda? What do you think of the good old American proposal of passing a law "agin" it?

MR. MILLER: I would say that was un-American, not American. That is not representative of democracy.

MR. WARNER: I don't agree with you. I think it's a good old American custom. I think passing a law about this would be good. We always pass a law. We could pass the same sort of law we passed on prohibition. We passed a law on that, and I think we would get about as far as we did with prohibition.

**The full question asked by Gallup interviewers reads: "Which of these two things do you think it is more important for the United States to try to do—to keep out of the war ourselves [sic], or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?"*

MR. KRUEGER: All right! If you don't think the problem is solved, then, by passing a law against propaganda or by keeping propaganda out of the country, what do you think of the proposal that there should be a powerful propaganda machine in the United States meeting Nazi propaganda with counterpropaganda—a kind of morale factory in Washington?[9]

MR. MILLER: Frequently it plays right into Hitler's hand, and we have seen it happen again and again. It deepens the cleavages; it intensifies the hatreds.

MR. WARNER: I agree with you completely. You remember the last war. What happened? We set up a propaganda machine of the same kind. What has happened? No matter what anyone says now it is called propaganda, simply because people were scared out of their lives by propaganda during the last war. Not afraid of other people's propaganda, but of our own!

MR. KRUEGER: Don't misunderstand me. You are not arguing with me on that question. I think the notion of meeting Nazi propaganda by counterpropaganda—by having all the kids in the school stand up and salute the flag, starting off all your meetings singing *The Star Spangled Banner*, and winding them up singing *God Bless America!*—is sheer eyewash so far as successfully meeting Nazi propaganda is concerned.

MR. WARNER: There is another solution I would like to offer you, but, judging by some of the things you said at the very beginning of this discussion, I am not quite so sure that you would agree with me. We might just move in and push the Germans around a bit.

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[9] *See the* ROUND TABLE *discussion of "Morale—First Line of Defense?" January 19, 1941, by Edward L. Bernays, Norman Thomas, and Harold Lasswell.*

Don't you think that is one way of pushing out propaganda? It is one of the most effective means I can think of. After all, if you get us organized at the present time so that we are actually in a war we are going to get much more cohesion than we would get by staying out of it. In the present situation we can't get cohesion if we are not in it. We are out of it. Don't you agree with that?

MR. MILLER: You are talking now about our getting into the war. Is that right?

MR. WARNER: I say it is the best way I know of at the present moment of attacking propaganda.

MR. KRUEGER: Here's what's wrong with that: Solve the problem of Nazi propaganda by getting into the war and we walk right into the lion's mouth, because the propaganda devices that are associated with necessities of operating a big military machine in wartime, I think, make it impossible for us to do the things that are really necessary in order to meet Nazi propaganda.

MR. WARNER: Wait a minute, Krueger! Wait a minute! After all, what we said we started out to do was to fight Nazi propaganda. To fight Nazi propaganda, we are doing it for the very good reason that we want social cohesion in this country. Anybody that has any sense at all will tell you that the way to get the greatest amount of cohesion is to actually get into a war in which you believe. In that way, then, you can stop propaganda.

MR. KRUEGER: Then you get cohesion the way Hitler got it in Germany. We are not talking about just getting cohesion. You can get cohesion at the point of a bayonet.

MR. WARNER: Oh, no!

MR. KRUEGER: That is the type of cohesion you get in wartime.

MR. MILLER: Now look! We may have to get into the war. That is not the point of our argument today. The point of our argument today is, How are we going to fight Nazi propaganda here and now? I don't think cohesion has very much to do with the matter.

MR. WARNER: It has everything to do with it.

MR. MILLER: All right! Maybe I'll come to that, and maybe I'll agree with you as this develops. Basically, we must have a healthy body politic.

MR. KRUEGER: Let's get on with that, Miller. You can get cohesion by the short-run method of putting on a propaganda campaign for democracy if you want, but that isn't the kind of cohesion we are talking about getting. I want to see the kind of cohesion, the kind of national unity in this country, that gives us a people that isn't subject to the kind of grievances that make them natural meat for Nazi propaganda. That means to me that you've got to get at such problems as those which have real propaganda value.

MR. MILLER: Do you have some of these listeners we talked about earlier in mind? What do you want to do for the unemployed? What do you want to do for youth who want to get married and have homes and children? What do you want to do for the aged who feel insecure? Are they in your picture?

MR. KRUEGER: I'll put it this way: we can't solve the problem of protecting America against Nazi propaganda as long as we have a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in the South. We can't do it unless we are willing to give real productive jobs to the people who are now worried because they are unemployed. That is what I mean.

MR. MILLER: You are saying, in effect, that defensive wars are not won, and this thing of *defending* democracy doesn't appeal to me much. We want a stronger democracy, a tough democracy; and a democracy *is* tough, it isn't brittle.

MR. WARNER: We don't want *less* democracy; we want *more* democracy. The way to fight Nazi propaganda is to give our people more and more democracy. But let's not start using big words and big political phrases. What do you mean by "more democracy"?

MR. MILLER: Economic democracy in terms of jobs for these people you say don't have them; in terms of better living for farmers.

MR. KRUEGER: I'd put it this way, just as another illustration: Whenever a group of labor people must go through a harrowing strike in order to compel a large-scale employer to recognize a legitimate union, I'd say he is not operating within the framework of economic democracy. I don't want to see this lumped off simply by agreeing here in nice language that, "Yes, what we need is more democracy." I think that we have to stage a real campaign for *total* democracy. If we are going to meet totalitarian propaganda we can meet it only with a powerful drive toward total democracy.

MR. WARNER: I hope you include *all* peoples in that because, after all, you remember I spoke earlier of the Negro. Do you also mean you are going to give total democracy to the Negroes of the Union?

MR MILLER: Why not?

MR. KRUEGER: I certainly do mean that, and I would add that it is one of the dangerous signs of the times that the places where the pro-war feeling is the strongest are the places where

Negroes are most consistently suppressed, and I think that is a dangerous situation.[10]

MR. WARNER: That isn't true. As a matter of fact, the Negro got a greater advance at the last war than at any time since the Emancipation. That is one of the reasons, perhaps, to get into this thing. The Negro definitely advanced himself at that time. But that is beside the point. I *do* agree with you that the Negro must have democratic treatment the same way as anybody else in the United States if we are going to remove these weaknesses from our body politic.

MR. MILLER: And we are not going to remove the weaknesses by hysteria, by calling every American, every believer in democracy, a communist. That is done again and again.

MR. KRUEGER: There is a great deal of that going on. It is done not only by investigating bodies, like the Dies Committee, which has done an infinitely worse job than the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee; it is done by people who are all the time opposing any real change in the social order on the ground that "now isn't the time"; that "we've got a big military problem on our hands." "Now isn't the time to make big social advances." I think they are dead wrong about that. I think this *is* the time.

MR. WARNER: So far we have been talking about a kind of ideal society. We sit here and talk about little Utopias. The American people want to know what we can do *now* to combat Nazi propaganda. We can't create a perfect society. That is impossible.

MR. KRUEGER: There are two things we can do. One I think is suicidal; the other offers prospects of salvation.

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[10] *See illustration, page 15.*

MR. WARNER: I don't want to commit suicide. Give me the other one, will you?

MR. KRUEGER: The one that is suicidal suggests that under these circumstances time is too pressing for us to do anything about the basic problems that the Nazi take advantage of in their propaganda. I say, get rid of the kind of seed beds in which Nazi propaganda sprouts.

MR. MILLER: I want to say one word. There is one way in which England could help. I would like to see England get rid of the Tories who helped to build up Hitler. I would like to see England give immediate independence to India and prove by her action that England is democratic. Then I might be interested in that war you are going to fight, Warner.

MR. WARNER: I think that is all very well. I hope you are not "buck-passing," but what I say is that here, right now, in these United States of America, and in all the little towns and little villages and wherever we meet, we ought to see to it that big guys don't push little guys around, and that big guys don't get pushed around by little guys. My idea of democracy is just that.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. List two of the groups in America which the ROUND TABLE participants feel might be susceptible to Nazi propaganda. Pages 4–5.
2. Why are these groups (see question 1) especially susceptible to Nazi propaganda? Page 5.
3. What is the phrase Hitler has used to identify himself with the members of these groups? Page 8.
4. Nazi exploitation of the frustration of these groups is compared with the efforts of what United States Senator in the thirties? What movement did he lead? Page 8.
5. Name two other movements which, according to the speakers, base their appeal on the frustrations of older people. Page 9.
6. The use of anti-Semitism by the Nazis is an example of what type of propaganda appeal? Page 9.
7. This appeal (see question 6) was also used before the present war in what way to enlist the support of British Tories for Hitler? Page 10.
8. The statement of Baldur von Schirach is cited by the ROUND TABLE experts as an example of what technique of Nazi propaganda? Page 12.
9. This technique (see question 8) is shown to have been used in several other historic circumstances. Name two cited by the speakers. Page 13.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 24.

*

1. How would you classify the various propaganda appeals of Naziism? List the groups into which you would divide the Hitler appeals and cite examples of each.
2. Do you think British propaganda is found in America "in a ratio of a thousand to one" compared with German propaganda? Discuss.
3. If there is a "menace" in foreign propaganda, which do you think menaces America most today—British or German? Distinguish between a "long-run" and a "short-run" menace. Discuss.
4. If there is a "menace" in foreign propaganda, distinguish between direct, controlled propaganda issued from official sources and propaganda of the same sort and with the same aims which originates within the United States.
5. It has recently been suggested that the United States refuse to deliver propaganda material mailed to this country from abroad unless foreign governments are willing to deliver pro-democratic postal material mailed from the United States. Discuss this idea.
6. Argue for or against the thesis that the most effective way to combat Nazi propaganda would be an American entry into the present war.
7. What specific things should be done in America today to attain the "total democracy" described by the speakers?

SUGGESTED READINGS

"The Propaganda Techniques of German Fascism," *Propaganda Analysis*, May, 1938. *A pre-war survey of the methods of Nazi propaganda and a summary of the ways in which Hitlerism made its appeals to Germany.*

"Propaganda for Blitzkrieg," *Propaganda Analysis*, August 1, 1940. *Eleven techniques of Naziism for internal and foreign "education."*

Taylor, Edmond, *The Strategy of Terror.* New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1940. *An analysis of the process of terror-creation in the minds and lives of intended Nazi victims, with reference to the events of the present war.*

Gray, L. C., "America's Ears," *Current History*, January 10, 1941. *How American listening posts, government and private, are keeping track of short-wave propaganda directed toward America.*

Rolo, C. J., "Radio War on the U.S.A.," *American Mercury*, January, 1941. *How radio propaganda operates: what is said, how it is said, and why.*

Holway, C. P., "Fight Fire with Fire," *Nation*, January 11, 1941.

Lavine, Harold, and Wechsler, James, *War Propaganda and the United States.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. *The war and the propagandas surrounding it analyzed for Americans.*

Miller, Clyde R.; Krueger, Maynard C.; and Peterson, H. C., *Propaganda*, a University of Chicago Round Table broadcast, November 26, 1939, *analyzing and discussing the general meaning of propaganda, with specific illustrations of the seven major types of "persuasion."*

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "Dilemma in the Far East" February 23, 1941.*

*

Credit

May I say that the discussion today seemed to me outstanding in a series that week after week puts on the air the most worth-while material available to radio listeners in this country. I believe that Mr. Drucker deserves great credit for the firm and tactful way in which he kept the program squarely to its subject and drove through to concrete conclusions.

W. D. T., Jr., New Hampshire

*

Critique

I can see the day coming nearer and nearer when such public discussions are going to lose their popularity. One of your speakers voiced the thought that the ROUND TABLE never settled anything. As they are conducted, the only listener who profits by them is the rare individual thinker who can sift the wheat from the chaff. Your university professors were clear-minded and honestly direct in their remarks. Unless they had teamed up, the newspaper correspondent would have muddled the whole discourse. The poorest thinker was permitted to monopolize one-half the time. He repeatedly maintained he "was confused and didn't know" and asked a multitude of questions all over the ways of the world, but he tried to discount or evade every answer that he got. . . . .

The trouble is that the average American in his home, listening, is not mentally aware enough of fallacious arguments or acute enough to detect the dissembler or the mere arguer. I flatter myself that I come through all right. . . . .

T. K. W., Pennsylvania

*

Russia

Why everlastingly fool ourselves with the hope that Russia will eventually declare war against Germany and the axis? Why does Russia not attack Germany? Simply because Russia cannot trust the capitalistic nations, and because she knows only too well that these capitalistic nations are just waiting, hoping that she will blunder into the war. At that moment, I dare say, Great Britain would sign a quick peace with the axis powers and then with Germany turn against Russia.

F. A. R., California

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125. *The New France*
126. *What Really Happened at Havana?*
128. *Blitzkrieg on Britain.*
129. *Should America Aid Britain?*
130. *Should America Feed Europe?*
131. *Can Germany Conquer Latin America?*
132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
134. *Will Hitler Attack America Next?*
135. *YOU, Soldier*
136. *The Balkans Aflame*
137. *Warmongers and Appeasers*
138. *Polls and the Election*
140. *World Revolution*
141. *Art and Our Warring World*
142. *The Soviet Union and America*
143. *Is Hitler Revolutionizing Britain?*
144. *Where Are Those 50,000 Planes?*
146. *1951: The Next Decade in Education*

1941

147. *More Aid to Britain Now?*
148. *Is This Our War?*
149. *Morale: First Line of Defense?*
150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?*
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Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1440	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	780
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1310	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1370	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	740	New York, N.Y	WEAF	660
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	780
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1220
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1210	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1380	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1310
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Toledo, O.	WSPD	1340
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1120
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	1310
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1500
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1500	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1310	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1310
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1370	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1110
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1370	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1310	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1200
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210
Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280			

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	900
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Safford, Ariz.	KGLV	1420
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Denver, Colo.	KOA	830	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1210

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
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The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

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MARCH 9, 1941

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G. A. BORGESE, Professor of Italian Literature, University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN, Assistant Professor of History, University of Chicago

FRANK SMOTHERS, former Rome correspondent, *Chicago Daily News*

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SUGGESTED READINGS

GERVASI, FRANK, "It'd Better be Good, Benito," *Collier's,* March 1, 1941.

"Italy at War," *Living Age,* January, 1941.

STURZO, LUIGI, "Italy at the Crossroads," *Commonweal,* February 21, 1941.

ASCOLI, MAX, "Mussolini in the War," *Yale Review,* June, 1940.

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